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Message Text

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SUBJ: PRESTIGIOUS MILITARY LEADER CALLS FOR FEDERATION
OF LUSITANIAN STATES

SUMMARY: GENERAL ANTONIO DE SPINOLA, PRESTIGIOUS, MUCH DECORATED VICE CHIEF OF STAFF OF PORTUGAL'S ARMED FORCES, HAS WRITTEN A BEST SELLING BOOK WHICH CALLS FOR A NEW PORTUGUESE CONSTITUTION TO PROVIDE CIVIL LIBERTIES AND DEMOCRATIC
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INSTITUTIONS IN ALL AREAS ADMINISTERED BY PORTUGAL AND TO

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CREATE A FEDERATION OF SOVEREIGN "LUSITANIAN" STATES. SPINOLA ACKNOWLEDGES RISK THAT THIS POLICY MIGHT LEAD TO EVENTUAL SEVERENCE OF ALL TIES WITH PORTUGAL ON THE PART OF ITS OVERSEAS TERRITORIES, BUT ACCEPTS THAT RISK BECAUSE HE BELIEVES PRESENT POLICY VIRTUALLY GUARANTEES SUCH AN OUTCOME. ALTHOUGH WRITTEN IN MOVING, PATRIOTIC TERMS AND DEDICATED TO THE "SURVIVAL" OF PORTUGAL, BOOK HAS SENT SHOCK WAVES THROUGH THE COUNTRY. END SUMMARY.

1. "PORTUGAL AND THE FUTURE, "BLUEPRINTS FOR MODERNI-ZATION OF PORTUGAL ALONG LINES OF WESTERN EUROPEAN DEMOCRACIES AND FOR HONORABLE EXIT FROM AFRICA, WAS RELEASED FEBRUARY 22. RUN OF 50,000 COPIES WAS SOLD OUT WITHIN 48 HOURS; SECOND EDITION OF 50,000 REPORTEDLY ON THE WAY. BOOK WAS RELEASED ON EVE OF LONG CARNAVAL HOLIDAY AND DURING PERIOD OF NATIONAL ASSEMBLY RECESS (UNTIL MARCH 5); AS RESULT THERE HAS BEEN LITTLE PUBLIC COMMENT ON IT (POSSIBLY SO INTENDED BY AUTHOR). IN BOOK, GENERAL ANTONIO DE SPINOLA, RECENTLY NAMED VICE CHIEF OF STAFF OF ARMED FORCES AND DECORATED WITH PORTUGAL'S HIGHEST HONOR ON RETURN LAST YEAR FROM FIVE YEAR STINT AS GOVERNOR AND COMMANDER OF GUINEA,CALLS ON HIS COUNTRYMEN TO MOVE QUICKLY AND FORCEFULLY TO END THE "DISINTEGRATION OF PORTUGAL". SPINOLA CALLS FOR RESTORATION BASIC FREEDOMS AND DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS,
"INCLUDING FREQUENT PLEBISCITES," AND FOR ANNOUNCEMENT AND CARRYING OUT OF PROGRAM TO ESTABLISH A FEDERATION OF AUTONOMOUS STATES, OF WHICH EUROPEAN PORTUGAL WOULD BE MERELY ONE, WITH TIES BASED ON THE DESIRES OF THE INHABITANTS. MAIN POINTS OF BOOK FOLLOW.

2. SPINOLA WRITES IN THE NAME OF NATIONAL UNITY BUT DECRIES "IMPERIAL UNITY" WHICH HE ALLEGES IS THE CURRENT POLICY. HERETOFORE PORTUGAL HAS IMPOSED ITS VISION OF NATIONHOOD ON UNCONSULTED AND FREQUENTLY UNWILLING INHABITANTS OF ITS OVERSEAS TERRITORIES. SUCH IS BOTH WRONG AND UNWORKABLE: "YOU CANNOT INTEGRATE THOSE WHO DO NOT WISH TO BE INTEGRATED." GOVERNMENT HAS NOT EVEN TRIED TO MEET REQUIREMENTS OF ITS OWN IDEOLOGY: ALTHOUGH 2/3 OF NATION'S POPULATION IS OVERSEAS ONLY SMALL MINORITY OF NATIONAL ASEMBLY DEPUTIES ARE FROM OVERSEAS. PORTUGAL'S GREAT LASTING HISTORIC CONTRIBUTION
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WAS CREATION OF BRAZIL; ITS GREAT NATIONAL TRAGEDY WAS "AMPUTATION OF GOA" (WHICH MIGHT NEVER HAVE OCCURRED HAD SPINOLA'S FEDERATION OF AUTONOMOUS STATES BEEN IN EFFECT AT THE TIME). PRESENT POLICY, DENOMINATED AS "IMMOBILITY," RULES OUT NEW BRAZILS AND GUARANTEES NEW GOAS BECAUSE (A) IT CONCENTRATES ON LEGALISTIC FORMULAS INSTEAD OF SPIRITUAL AND MORAL UNITY; (B) IT BENEFITS SMALL MINORITIES ONLY; (C) IT IS EFFECTED ONLY AT GREAT COST IN LIFE AND TREASURE; (D) IT IS

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OPPOSED BY THE ENTIRE WORLD. PORTUGAL IS AT THE LIMIT OF ITS POTENTIAL TO FORCE ITS WILL IN AFRICA, BUT THE "REVOLUTIONARY" ENEMIES THERE WILL CONTINUE TO INCREASE THEIR STRENGTH. THERE IS NO EXCLUSIVELY MILITARY SOLUTION FOR PORTUGAL.

3. THE COST OF THE AFRICAN WARS IS INTOLERABLE. RESTRICTIONS ON PERSONAL LIBERTIES AT HOME, ALIENATION OF CERTAIN YOUND PEOPLE, AND NONPRODUCTIVE USE OF MEN AND MONEY MUST BE ENDED, FOR THEY HAVE CONTRIBUTED TO ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL STAGNATION AND CONSEQUENT EMIGRATION OF "THE PEOPLE," WHO ARE REALISTS.

4. THE ANSWER FOR PORTUGAL IS RAPID POLITICAL AND SOCIAL LIBERALIZATION IN THE METROPOLE AND THE SIMULTANEOUS CREATION OF A GREAT LUSITANIAN COMMUNITY BASED ON PROGRESSIVE AUTONOMY OF EACH OF ITS PARTS, WHERE "MORAL TIES WILL PREVAIL OVER POLITICAL STATUTES." PORTUGAL MUST ANNOUNCE ITS ACCEPTANCE OF THE PRINCIPLE OF SELF-DETERMINATION FOR ALL OF ITS OVER-SEAS TERRITORIES. IT SHOULD THEN MOVE RAPIDLY (BUT NOT RASHLY) TO TURN OVER FULL CONTROL OF THE PROVINCES TO THE PEOPLE WHO LIVE THERE. IT SHOULD THEN HOLD A PLEBISCITE WITH FULL PARTICIPATION OF THE PEOPLE (I.E., SCRAPPING LITERACY REQUIREMENT) FOR CREATION OF FEDERATION OF AUTONOMOUS STATES. SPINOLA RECOGNIZES THAT PRESENT PORTUGUESE CONSTITUTION WOULD HAVE TO BE REVISED TO PERMIT EVOLUTION HE PROPOSES, AND HE CALLS FOR IMMEDIATE DEBATE AND PLANNING FOR SUCH REVISION. HE ALSO RECOGNIZES THAT PORTUGAL MIGHT LOSE CONTROL OF AUTONOMY PROCESS AND THAT SOME OR ALL OVERSEAS TERRITORIES MIGHT GO THEIR OWN WAY IN COMPLETE INDEPENDENCE, BUT HE CALLS ON HIS COUNTRYMEN TO ACCEPT THE RISK BECAUSE EVEN IN THE WORST ANALYSIS, SOME "SPIRITUAL AND CULTURAL TIES" WOULD REMAIN, WHEREAS PRESENT COURSE GUARANTEES "AMPUTATION" WITHOUT EVEN THE CERTAINTY THAT ANY "PORTUGALITY" WOULD SURVIVE.

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5. THE POLITICAL STRUCTURE SPINOLA ENVISAGES WOULD HAVE FULLY AUTONOMOUS STATE GOVERNMENTS FOR EACH TERRITORY, INCLUDING THE METROPOLE. EACH STATE WOULD ELECT ITS OWN LEGISLATURE AND GOVERNOR, AS WELL AS REPRESENTATIVES TO A FEDERAL PARLIAMENT. A FEDERAL GOVERNMENT, UNDER A SINGLE CHIEF OF STATE ELECTED (IN A MANNER NOT SPECIFIED) BY THE WHOLE FEDERATION WOULD CONSIST OF AN INDEPENDENT JUDICIARY (TO PASS ON CONSTITUTIONAL-ITY OF STATE AND FEDERAL LAWS, TO CHECK EXECUTIVE POWER, AND TO TAKE OVER RESPONSIBILITY FOR PUBLIC ORDER FROM ADMINISTRATIVE OFFICIALS, "AS IN THE DEMOCRACIES IN THE FREE WORLD"); A BICAMERAL LEGISLATURE WITH EQUAL REPRESENTATION IN ONE HOUSE AND
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REPRESENTATION BASED ON POPULATION IN THE OTHER, AND AN EXECUTIVE BRANCH TO HANDLE INTER-STATE MATTERS OF DEFENSE, FOREIGN AFFAIRS AND FINANCE. EVEN THESE FEW EXECUTIVE POWERS, HOWEVER, WOULD BE LIMITED: INTERNAL SECURITY WOULD BE THE RESPONSIBILITY OF EACH STATE; STATES COULC CONDUCT THEIR OWN RELATIONS WITH NEIGHBORING STATES AS NEEDED; EACH STATE WOULD HAVE ITS OWN BUDGET, WITH FEDERAL RESPONSIBILITY IN FINANCIAL AFFAIRS LIMITED TO CHANNELING AID TO THE POORER STATES AND TO SETTING OVERALL MONETARY POLICY. SPINOLA OFFERS THE FOREGOING FOR CONSIDERATION AND DEBATE RATHER THAN ADOPTION; HE CONCEDES THAT HIS SUGGESTIONS ARE PRELIMINARY AND SUBJECT TO REFINEMENT.

6. SPINOLA'S PROPOSALS WILL NOT SOLVE PORTUGAL'S PROBLEMS UNLESS CLEARLY DEFINED AND SET IN A REALISTIC TIMEFRAME, AND BASED ON THE VISIBLE APPROVAL OF THE PORTUGUESE PEOPLE (BEST ACHIEVED BY A PLEBISCITE). IF PORTUGAL FOLLOWS THE COURSE CHARTERED BY SPINOLA, THE AFRICAN INSURGENCIES WIL

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FADE AWAY, PORTUGUESE POLICY WILL BE ACCEPTED AND SUPPORTED
BY THE WEST, RESOURCES NOW USED BY THE MILITARY WILL BE DEVOTED
TO DEVELOPMENT, THE SACRIFICES OF THE PAST WILL BE HONORED
AND PORTUGAL'S GREATNESS ASSURED.

7. COMMENT: SPINOLA'S PROPOSAL TO OFFER BUT NOT IMPOSE PORTUGALITY
TO ITS TERRITORIES, LEAVING OPEN THE POSSIBILITY OF COMPLETE
INDEPENDENCE WHILE GRANTING VIRTUAL INDEPENDENCE ANYWAY, HAS STRUCK
PORTUGAL LIKE A THUNDERBOLT. ONLY SLIGHTLY LESS SO HAS HIS CALL FOR
SWEEPING DOMESTIC REFORMS, INCLUDING REFERENDUM ON IMPORTANT
QUESTIONS.
ALREADY INSULATED BY HIS STATUS AS AN IMPECCABLE PATRIOT AND
A NATIONAL HERO
FOR HIS MILITARY AND POLITICAL EXPLOITS IN GUINEA, SPINOLA WILL
BE A HARD MAN TO CRITICIZE. WITH THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY
CLOSED, ITS OUTSPOKEN RIGHTWINGERS HAVE SOME TIME FOR
REFLECTION BEFORE AN OPPORTUNITY TO SPEAK. THE RIGHT-WING
PRESS HAS NOT COMMENTED UPON THE BOOK, ALTHOUGH THE LIBERAL
PAPERS EXPRESSO AND REPUBLICA HAVE SPLASHED EXCERPTS
AND FAVORABLE COMMENT ON THEIR FRONT PAGES.

PERHAPS MOST IMPORTANT ELEMENT IN ENTIRE PICTURE IS THAT
SPINOLA'S BOOK IS A SELF-NOMINATION FOR NATIONAL LEADERSHIP.
IN ADDITION TO THE MATERIAL REPORTED ABOVE, THE BOOKS TOUCHES
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ON THE FULL RANGE OF NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL CONCERNS,
SOME OF WHICH (E.G. GATT REGULATIONS), SPINOLA KNOWS VIRTUALLY
NOTHING ABOUT. HE CONSULTED WIDELY IN PREPARING THE BOOK
AND WAS ASSISTED IN DRAFTING IT BY A LARGE NUMBER OF PERSONS.
SPINOLA'S BOOK TELLS PORTUGAL THAT HE IS AN UNQUESTIONABLE PATRIOT,
TRIED UNDER FIRE; THAT HE HAS COURAGE; THAT HE HAS THE ANSWERS
TO PORTUGAL'S PROBLEMS; AND THAT HE IS AVAILABLE. (COPY OF BOOK
POUCHED EUR/IB).
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